1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into containers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole sometimes were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were supported by the community, kept a much better table than the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Culture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,[*] and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.[**]

TRIBUTE

In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matrícula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

1,616 bundles[***] of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

400 bundles of cotton
800 red seashells, like scallops

[*] See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendricks, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

[**] See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

[***] The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

291 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
248 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
114 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

262 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

323 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*FNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *FNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *FNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[70] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[a] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[b]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
[248] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
[263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291] above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
[276] *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
[212] were asked."[c] No data are available on the tribute of other component
[137] towns individually.

[a] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4:297–328.

[b] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3:130.

[c] *PNE*, 7:20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se hazze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongas con que tenbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** [291
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 714
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* [348]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.* [357]

* Corrected from 800.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuscalsotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenia de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING[a]

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS[a]

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. TLAPACOYAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan. To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

[a] Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

FOOD	
20 loads of cacao*	
OTHER GOODS	
1,600 bales of cotton*	

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.[*]

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on fólio 49' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.[*]

Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.[*]

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[*] According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

[*] RHE, 1:158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

[*] Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10:61: "don myn enrriquez ac por la presente en nombre de su mag^{d} hago m^{d} a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^{o} de myctlanquauhtla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en va cerro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses**
402 bundles* of little red-striped mantles**
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.* In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.*

* Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

* Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

* *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçisco de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

* *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."